## Reviews of Books

Mark Lincicome: *Imperial Subjects as Global Citizens – Nationalism, Internationalism and Education in Japan.* Lexington Books, 2009, 193 pp. ISBN 978-0-7391-3114-5

The book is a detailed and fascinating account of various narratives regarding the reform of education in Japan from the Meiji era up to the present day. These revolve around the controversial topics of nationalism and internationalism, and their influence in shaping Japanese education before and after the Great War and World War II. They also reflect the positions of politicians and educators vis-à-vis such questions as: "Who are the Japanese and what defines them as a nation? What should be the relationship between the individual and the state? What should be Japan's relationship to the international community of nations? And what kind of education is required to make this vision a reality?" (p.22) The author, who has widely published in the field of history of Japanese education, discusses the much-debated topics of modernization and westernization of Japanese education. He points out that, despite certain positive initiatives, these debates have often been subordinated to the nationalistic and imperialistic interests of the powers that be.

First mentioned in an English dictionary around 1864, the word "internationalization" is considered by historians such as Ebuchi Kazuhiro to be a culturally defined concept. Thus, while in Japanese it denotes the result of a process of making something international (kokusaika is a combination of the adjective kokusai (international) and the suffix ka, which marks a process, a transformation), in the 1864 dictionary entry it expresses a more causative concept, denoting "an action that one or more parties perform upon another". It was used by European colonizers in statements like "the Suez Canal must be internationalized" in order to "describe and justify their techniques for exerting control over other societies and exploiting them" (p.7). According to the official narrative, the emergence of the concept of internationalization coincides with the promulgation of the Universal Compulsory Education Law in 1872. At that time Japan was enthusiastically jumping the bandwagon of westernization and modernization, and kokusaika was understood as encompassing such concepts as westernization (seiyouka), modernization (kindaika) and liberalization (jiyuuka). However, according to historians Ito Akihiro and Ebuchi Kazuhiro, ideas of internationalization in Japanese education predate the Meiji Restoration. Some of these belong to Tokugawa era intellectuals such as Sato Nobuhiro and Honda Toshiaki, who braved the sakoku (isolationist) policy of the government by suggesting that the internationalization and modernization of learning were essential for Japan's increasing strategic power in Asia. Thus, in their opinion, following in the steps of the great powers by promoting a wider dissemination of learning and opening of the country to Western knowledge was mandatory for turning Japan into a great power, after the European model. After the introduction of the system of universal, compulsory education in 1872, Japan made sustained efforts to catch up with the West. The phrase fukoku kyouhei (enrich the country, strengthen the military) reflects Japan's effort to establish itself not only as an economic but also as a military power in the region.

However, towards the end of the Meiji era, it became clear to the political forces that, in its pursuit of modernization and internationalization, Japan had become "over-westernized", and that another

change was necessary in order to bring up a nation of loval, patriotic, obedient imperial subjects. Internationalization was no longer a vehicle of progress, but an enemy of the government. In the eyes of the political power, modernization and westernization had been accompanied by an unwanted baggage of doctrines such as kojinshugi (individualism), jiyuushugi (liberalism) and hakuaishugi (humanitarianism), which twisted the minds of the Japanese subjects and made them less loyal and obedient. Moreover, the gap between Japan's domestic and foreign discourses on education widened so that while domestically drumming up the superiority of the Japanese people and therefore the need to colonize as many territories as possible, the Japanese foreign policy depicts a Japan who is committed to unifying the Orient against western imperialism and to preserving the peace and prosperity in Asia. The Japan of the world (Sekai no Nihon) as was termed by one prominent Japanese minister of education. Sajonji Kinmochi, was gradually moving towards becoming the great empire of Japan (dai Nippon teikoku), and the shift from strengthening the country through internationalization was changing towards emulating the state-centered nationalism of the great powers. However, as Meiji educator Izumi Tetsu points out in his writings, the aim of such a chauvinistic domestic discourse was to create "narrow-minded, submissive patriots", who would be then overwhelmed into slavish submission or shyness by the discovery of the truly great nations of the world (p.56).

According to the official narrative, while in the Meiji era nationalism was necessary to keep the western powers at bay by strengthening the cohesion of the people and the country's military power, since the Allied occupation it was justified by the struggle to keep up with the West and with the profound changes which have been under way in the Japanese economy and society as a "nation of peace and culture". In both instances, nationalism (or 'healthy' nationalism, as former prime minister Nakasone put it) has been deemed necessary in order to preserve Japanese people's identity and cultural tradition against an excessive "modernization" or "westernization". The history of Meiji and Taisho attempts to revive or nurture feelings of excessive national pride and superiority repeats itself. Lincicome draws a comparison between the views of prominent educators and politicians before and after 1945, and finds few discrepancies in their overall attitude towards promoting nationalistic ideals and a superficial implementation of "international" education. Moreover, he finds that some of the most vocal Taisho era proponents of internationalization in education made themselves guilty of ideological conversion by ending up as supporters of the official rhetoric, which glorified the superiority of Japanese culture and people. On the other hand, after Japan's defeat in the war, many proponents of Japanese imperialism before 1945 turned into fervent defendants of the ideals of peace, disarmament and liberation of colonized peoples.

The trend of advertising herself as an internationally-minded country while "editing" historical evidence and cultivating nationalistic ideals through education does not appear to have lost any of its original appeal for the contemporary policy-makers. The author relates a widely publicized case of rebellion among a handful of primary and secondary school teachers in Hiroshima Prefecture in 1999 against the Ministry of Education requirement that the flying of the national flag and singing of the Japanese anthem be mandatory at all official school ceremonies. The *Hinomaru* flag and the national anthem are much-debated symbols of a militarist and imperialist past. Japan, who entered WWII not as a "peace-loving country" but as an ally of Nazi Germany and Italy, committed war atrocities in the name of the emperor and under the colors of the same Hinomaru flag of today. Although the teachers' protests were legitimate, the Ministry of Education chose to ignore them and went as far as to discipline the school principals that opposed this requirement. As this case shows, the Ministry of Education continues to endorse not only these emblems of an imperialistic past, but also textbooks which present a truncated version of Japanese abuse against its neighbors. Lincicome presents fragments of various Taisho, post-war and end of century school textbooks and other publications, and finds that not much has changed in regards to presenting a biased version of historical truth. In an overzealous attempt not to "bore" the students with too many figures and facts, the

official textbooks present World War II as having "happened", Japan's invasion of China and SE Asia is euphemistically presented as "advance", the Nanking massacre, in which around 260,000 people were killed and more than 20,000 women were raped by the Japanese soldiers are depicted as "many people getting killed in the confusion" (p.145-6).

A brilliant synchronic and diachronic analysis of the contradictory aspects of education reform in post-Meiji Japan, the book offers precious insight into an education shaped by a conservative Ministry of Education under the influence of the political conjecture of the time. The author sustains his critical account with a wide array of examples from textbooks and publications by politicians and prominent educators. An excellent reading for both the historian and common reader, the book reiterates a vision of a politicized education in the new millennium, which, under the pretense of internationalization, continues to embrace the vision of a "justifiable nationalism", as suggested by the former PM Nakasone:

It is important that we unite in peace and culture around the Emperor, that we contribute culturally, politically, and economically to the rest of the world, that we join together with other nations in seriously considering these issues, and that we share our prosperity with the rest of the global community. Yet we cannot do any of this unless we are also confident of our own identity. A nationalism that endeavors to foster self-identity in this sense is a completely justifiable nationalism. And we must teach this through education. (xix)

The rest is déjà-vu.

Niculina Nae

Deborah Davidson and Owaki Noriyoshi (2010) *The Ainu and the Bear: The Gift of the Cycle of Life.* Translated from the original Japanese text by Ryo Michico. Illustrated by Kobayashi Toshiya. Tokyo: RIC (Parol-sha 2005) 65 p. ISBN-13 9784903924458

In November 2009, Minpaku, Japan's National Museum of Ethnology hosted a one-day workshop "Contemporary Indigenous Issues: Ainu and Aboriginal Peoples". A common thread between the two Ainu and two speakers on Aboriginal affairs was the importance of maintaining a link between the native cultures and their natural territories. Within the anachronistic, problematic context of an ethnology museum which by nature houses static objects of too-often "lost", "primitive" cultures, these speakers' task was to convince the audience of the ongoing pertinence of their communities in the modern world *outside* the museum. Kado Muir, an Aboriginal community leader, anthropologist and artist, spoke of the consultancy company he founded and directs, which negotiates between Aboriginal tribes and the mining companies which now own and exploit the land. Muir, who is highly educated and an astute businessman and leader, seems to embody the contemporary direction in which indigenous claims might successfully take. Two of Muir's children accompanied him on the trip to Japan, bringing their snacks and gameboys to the long day of lectures. At the end of his speech, Muir showed a DVD his sons and their friends had made, directed and produced themselves. Papinmaru: A mini documentary by the Walkatjurra Junior Rangers, shows five boys making shanghai out of an old football, chasing a goanna in the bush until they finally kill it and roast it on a campfire. The DVD advertises the clip as "[r]eal Australia outback survival, with Australian Aboriginal kids showing us how".4 The Minpaku audience responded positively to the short video, laughing at the kids chasing the goanna, falling in the dirt and at the excitement of the chase. The atmosphere changed markedly, however, at the point where the boys pick up the stunned lizard and have some trouble properly killing it by flinging it against a tree trunk and breaking its neck. The day's workshop generated much positive energy about the rights of indigenous cultures to continue traditional practices, but this energy was significantly deflated when the audience was confronted with an example of a traditional practice that many find distasteful. Quite simply, we are unused to such candid and graphic violence, especially from the under-ten-year olds calmly playing Nintendo in the back row. Just as the ethnology museum must work out how to document exotic cultures without succumbing to accusations of elitism and colonial superiority, indigenous cultures must walk a fine line between appealing to the general public's interest and sympathy, and alienating that support due to activities no longer acceptable in mainstream modern society.

The Ainu equivalent of the Aboriginal bush hunting is the *Iomante*, or bear-sending ceremony, in which a bear cub is captured and brought up as family before being ceremonially killed. The ritual, which is often described as cruel and barbaric, was prohibited by the Japanese government from 1955 to 2007. In the Aboriginal case, by screening *Papinmaru* Kado Muir shows his belief in handing down traditional skills to his children and publicising those practices. In a similar effort, the recent English translation of *The Ainu and the Bear: The Gift of the Cycle of Life* aims to educate a wider public about the *Iomante*. Both the book's author and translator acknowledge the difficulty of such a task, and accept the risk of offending readers, just as *Papinmaru* shocked an unexpecting public out of the theoretical talk of an

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Deborah Davidson for kindly supplying a copy of this book and for guiding me in my reading and understanding of both the text and many wider considerations of Ainu culture. Davidson's work for Project Uepeker and in helping broadcast information about Ainu may be found at http://projectuepeker.blogspot.com/

<sup>2</sup> The event was run by the Australian Studies Association of Japan, 28 November, 2009.

<sup>3</sup> Kado Muir, "Uranium, Aboriginal Spirituality, Human Rights and the Environment: A fissionable recipe for confusion". The paper presented one tribe's engagement with developers "to protect their beliefs, heritage and environment" (paper abstract).

<sup>4</sup> Information about the DVD is available at Kado Muir's homepage, http://kadomuir.wordpress.com/, accessed 20 April 2010.

academic conference to confront a cultural reality different from their own. The question of the extent to which we can truly accept the values of another culture is one of the most pressing and the most difficult in today's age of multiculturalism. In his assertive article "Boutique Multiculturalism, or Why Liberals Are Incapable of Thinking about Hate-Speech" (1997), literary critic Stanley Fish highlights the gap between a liberal acceptance of cultural difference, and the uncomfortable fact that some cultural practices remain, on a personal level, objectionable. According to Fish, real respect for a culture comes from confronting our prejudices and fears rather than dismissing them summarily or hiding behind a veil of facile tolerance.5 Silenced for many years by virtue of their minority status and negative feelings of cultural self-worth, indigenous peoples have recently become confident to tell stories such as Papinmaru and The Ainu and the Bear. Their willingness to engage with the mainstream, which requires a reciprocal effort of understanding from the general public, engenders recognition and respect. Whether or not one can accept cultural practices such as the *Iomante* comes down to personal choice, but understanding the context of that practice is certainly important. Ryo Michico, author of *The Ainu and the Bear*, identifies the book's key issue as an attempt to understand the context of the Iomante rather than interpret the event by our own values: "I can only hope that this picture book will play a small part in helping people understand not only Ainu culture. but also any culture that differs from their own".6 The book's narrative perspective and structure provides an Ainu world-view through which the reader may contextualise the *Iomante*.

Throughout history and across civilisations, cultures have developed belief systems that explain natural cycles and justify the rhythms of human need, such as hunting, kinship, birth and death. The relationship between man and his natural environment is one of the most powerful and universal questions asked in human philosophy. Like many indigenous cultures, the Ainu world-view is pantheistic and animate: God is in nature, and nature is anthropomorphic. In fact, for Ainu, nature is a god, with all animals, plants and natural elements such as rivers, fire and stars considered kamuy, gods. As Ainu (the word means "human") need those elements to survive, the Ainu relationship with the natural world is not one of man versus the wild, but one of maintaining a balance between the two realms of kamuy and Ainu. The Ainu name for Hokkaido, Ainu Moshiri, is, literally, "the land of humans", as differentiated from the land of gods. Thus, for Ainu, man does not dominate nature, by hunting animals, for example. Rather, gods inhabit an animal body and allow themselves to be killed for their gifts of the precious fur and meat that allow people to survive in the harsh climates of Hokkaido. In return, Ainu honour the gods with respect and rituals so that the gods will want to come back to the land of humans again. Examples of this symbiosis abound in Ainu practice. Renowned sculptor, Bikky Sunazawa, held kamuy-nomi prayer ceremonies to honour the gods of the forest before he started carving a log. In the "Song of the Owl God", a yukar, epic oral tale, translated into Japanese by schoolgirl Chiri Yukie in the early 1920s, the owl god, looking down on a village split by poverty and famine, feels sorry for a poor child being bullied by wealthier children, and so lets himself be shot down by the child's humble arrow:

"Where the silver droplets fall, where the golden droplets fall," I sang as I drew a circle slowly in the sky.

The poor boy drew one leg back and set it firmly behind him While setting the other leg firmly in front of him.

<sup>5</sup> Fish, Stanley. (1997). Boutique Multiculturalism, or Why Liberals Are Incapable of Thinking about Hate Speech. *Critical Inquiry* vol. 23 (Winter 1997).

<sup>6</sup> Michico, Ryo. Author's Postscript: Stepping into the deep Ainu forest. The Ainu and the Bear. Op. cit.

<sup>7</sup> Debreuil, Chisato. (2006). From the Playground of the Gods: The Life and Art of Bikky Sunazawa. Washington DC: Arctic Studies Center, National Museum, 82-84.

He bit on his lower lip and steadied his aim.

The arrow was released in a whoosh of air.

The tiny arrow flew clean and straight towards me.

I stretched out my claw and plucked that little arrow from the air.

I sliced through the wind and fluttered to the ground." 8

The "Song of the Owl God" helped raise awareness in Japan of the value of Chiri Yukie's work and appreciation for the lyricism and imagery of Ainu oral poetry. As well as portraying important information about the traditional Ainu way of life, the *yukar* contains messages of more universal values, for example of spiritual richness as opposed to materialism, of respect for tradition and against discrimination. One of the most well-known *yukar*, it was for some time included in the *Middle School National Language Book I* reader."

The *Iomante* send-off ceremony recounted in the "Song of the Owl God", in which the animal spirit of a bear or an owl is released back to the land of the gods, is perhaps the most elaborate symbol of this Ainu world-view: in Ainu there is no word for "bear", rather, the animal is called *Kimun kamuy*, mountain god. Although written as prose, *The Ainu and the Bear* follows in the tradition of Ainu storytelling in its rich imagery, oral rhythm and strong appeal to senses of touch, smell, light and texture. As a picture book, *The Ainu and the Bear* is ostensibly a children's story. The narration is shared between a young boy and the bear cub which is captured, raised in the village and killed in the *Iomante*. The book's pictures are based on wood-cut printing, a modern Ainu art form that has its roots in the woodcarving tradition. The black-figure relief lends a simplicity of design that highlights details integral to Ainu design, including cloth embroidery, woodcarving, and stylised features such as fish scales, tree bark and bird feathers.

During the bear cub's passages of narration there is no sense of fear or misplaced human emotion. Rather, the imagery is experiential, for example of light and dark, the texture of fur and snow, the smell of nature. In similar wording to that in the "Song of the Owl God" yukar, the bear's death appears welcomed and pre-ordained: "[t]he bear receives the arrow, almost as though she were taking it in her two paws" (59). As the bear is considered a god rather than a hunted animal, the kimun kamuy is not afraid of man: naturalness and mysticism merge in the bear's death. The distinction between animal and god is clear in the original Ainu language, but confused in the Japanese and English texts where the word "bear" obscures the role of kimun kamuy as protector of the village and provider of fur and meat. The godliness of nature is evident in the imagery throughout the story, in which the bear is aligned with pantheistic nature: an intense sunset with bear-shaped clouds; autumn colours reflected in the bear's golden-brown fur; a pathway to the land of gods in the snow and stars of a winter's night. Finally, near the end of the story, an unknown disturbance in nature, by which crops and hunts fail and a rogue bear attacks the village, is attributed to an imbalance between man and gods. The solution is found in restarting the cycle of *Iomante* bear-sending rituals to appease the mountain god and restore the harmony between Ainu and kamuy. The cycles and rhythms of nature and life, which include the human need for hunting and domesticating animals for food, are rationalised in an elaborate cosmology that aligns spirituality with nature. This is iterated in the story's final paragraph "[w]e feed on the life of others. We are part of a cycle of fleshly and spiritual life" (65).

By contrast with the bear's perspective, the child's eye narrative concentrates the intense and ambivalent emotions usually associated with debates about the *Iomante*. In a common literary technique, the child's innocence and intense emotions allows the reader to both identify with and sympathise with

<sup>8</sup> Davidson, Deborah (unpublished). Chiri Yukie: What forces formed her identity and what factors strengthened her sense of worth as an Ainu?, 10.

<sup>9</sup> Davidson, ibid., 10.

the child. In effect, the narrative structure sides with the many readers who object to the *Iomante* on the grounds of cruelty. However, the child's lower status within the Ainu community means his reactions are framed by the symbolic context given by the adults and elders. For example, in the early stages of the ceremony, the boy feels the elders are teasing and angering the bear, while the elders interpret this very differently, in the words of the *yukar* they chant throughout the ceremony:

She shakes all over.

"See how well she dances," someone says.

"Look how happy she is to know she'll soon return to the land of the kamuy," says another. (37)

In some ways, the child's concerted effort to watch the ceremony despite his conflicting emotions mirrors the reader's own. By contrast, the ritual gestures, dance and *yukar* chant performed by the Ainu adults enable them to interpret the event imaginatively. The Ainu child also finds solace in the ritual, but is still attached to the visceral action. For example, in its death throes, the child thinks It won't be long now. It won't be long. Soon you'll be on your way home. I'm tempted to close my eyes but I resist. I must be a witness as she sets out on her journey. (39)

The reader, like the child, has to remind him or herself of the Ainu worldview that mediates their reaction to the killing. Through the child's narrative, the book does not dismiss the pain and brutality of the bear killing, but explains the boy's feelings of sorrow, fear, anger, shock as a natural, inevitable part of the event. The author is sympathetic to such emotions. In her Author's Postscript, Ryo Michico describes both her own and Ainu people's ambivalent feelings, which include some people excusing themselves from the ceremony because they have become so attached to the bear cub. As the author puts it:

Using the words "send off" rather than "kill" to refer to the *Iomante* is not subterfuge, but rather an expression of deep respect. The Ainu fully acknowledge that killing is involved. The village shares in the pain of the taking of life, and accepts with deep gratitude the gifts they receive at the cost of that life. This is what *Iomante* is all about. (Author's Postscript)

Certainly, symbolism aside, the event is frightening and brutal. Although Ainu were a huntergatherer society, raising the bear cub in captivity was a step towards organised farming. The elaborate *Iomante* ceremony builds a religious framework around a basic need for sustenance common to all hunter-gatherer societies.

Nonetheless, what is the relevance of a new book on the *Iomante* in the 2000s, when Ainu no longer live in closed communities and there is no longer the traditional need for bear meat as food? Indeed, the bear (along with the Blakiston's Fish Owl and fox) has become a rare and protected species as well as a main tourist drawcard in Hokkaido. As Deborah Davidson appropriately points out, the fact that the *Iomante* is no longer prohibited (since 2007) does not necessarily mean that the practice will be revived. Indeed, the government's gesture is more a symbolic sign of respect that goes hand in hand with increasing official recognition of Ainu as indigenous people of Japan. Davidson documents an evolving use of *Iomante* in Ainu communities in Hokkaido in recent years. In 2009, the Hidaka branch of the Hokkaido Ainu Association performed a sending ceremony for a Blakiston's Fish Owl that had been killed on the road by a car. *Iomante* have also been conducted for bears that die in captivity at the *Kuma-bokujou* bear park in Noboribetsu. In both cases, the ceremony maintains the Ainu respect for animals as *kamuy*, thereby

<sup>10</sup> Davidson (2 April 2010). The Ainu and the Bear, Intro to the Author. http://projectuepeker.blogspot.com/.

<sup>11</sup> Davidson (11 January, 2010). What does Iomante mean for modern day Ainu? http://projectuepeker.blogspot.com/.

retaining a spiritual link between humans and nature that belies the modern-day context of the animal's life and death (the owl had been tagged and was monitored by the Ministry of the Environment; the bear lived in captivity). The way the practice has evolved to fit the contemporary context while retaining the traditional meaning is an example of modernising indigeneity. This concept is contentious in the common expectation that an indigenous culture should remain faithful to its own, unique and oldfashioned cultural practices rather than "succumb" to cultural change through pressure from the dominant mainstream culture, which is perceived as modern and changeable.<sup>12</sup>

The evolving use of the *Iomante* brings us back to the ethical paradox with which this review started: how can indigenous cultures maintain their rituals of the past in a present in which they are outmoded? One aspect of the problem lies in our understanding of globalisation and of multiculturalism. In one way, the global village has brought openness to cultural differences and thus has cleared a space for minorities to add their voices to the medley. From this perspective, the Aboriginal Papinmaru and The Ainu and the Bear are timely reminders of activities which, in some form or other, are still active today. On the other hand, there is a common understanding of globalisation as driven by free-market competitive commercial values which equally apply to culture. From this angle, indigenous cultures are homogenised, sanitised and rendered exotic, as glimpses of quirky differences for modern-day cultural tourists. From this perspective, a contemporary, mainstream audience finds it difficult to accept contentious and unsavoury practices such as the children's goanna hunt and the *Iomante*, because they present aspects of the Aboriginal and Ainu which many people do not want to see—and certainly do not wish to see children involved in. Stanley Fish's tirade against easy multiculturalism may here apply. Facile, laissez-faire tolerance of cultural difference is ultimately disrespectful: what we have to do is argue. To show respect for a culture we must engage with it, discuss it, maybe even oppose it or argue against it. It is my hope that The Ainu and the Bear stimulates conversation, opinion and debate amongst those who read it.

Melissa Kennedy

<sup>12</sup> For research on the difficulties of indigenous modernity, see James Clifford (1997). Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century; Graham Huggan (2001). The Post-Colonial Exotic: Marketing the Margins; Melissa Kennedy (2009). Contemporary Tradition: Reconfiguring Ainu Culture in Modern Japan; Stephen Muecke (2004). Ancient and Modern: Time, Culture and Indigenous Philosophy.

<sup>13</sup> I would like to teach *The Ainu and the Bear* in an undergraduate course in print media which introduces basic media and cultural studies analytical techniques. I hope to present it alongside the DVD of *Papinmaru*. It will be interesting to see how Japanese students react to both the indigenous aspects and the animal killing content of these texts, and how they deal with them using the analytical techniques they have learned.

Naoko Osuka, Hisakazu Tsukano, Atsuko Yamamoto, and Robert VanBenthuysen, Essential Approach to the TOEIC Test. Tokyo: Seibio, 2009. 132p. ISBN 978-4-7919-1092-2, \(\frac{1}{2}\)2000.

When I go to a bookstore here in Japan, I cannot help but notice many test preparation materials on shelves. Japanese people seem to like so called *shikaku shiken* 'qualification examinations' very much. There are several types of examinations that are aimed to test English skills. TOEIC (Test of English for International Communication) is one of the most well-known and popular qualification examinations. It supposedly tests test-takers' ability to communicate in English, which is considered important and necessary, or even prestigious to a degree in this country. It is also believed that one's ability to communicate in English can give him/her the edge in job-hunting activities. As a result, TOEIC preparatory courses are taught at many colleges, universities, and language schools.

Because there are so many TOEIC books available on the market, it is difficult for teachers to decide which book best suits their students' needs and facilitates their learning. I have examined and used different textbooks over the past several years, and there seems to be two main types of TOEIC textbooks: a collection of practice tests/past tests and a topic-oriented approach.

Essential Approach to the TOEIC TEST is the book I have used for one of the TOEIC preparatory courses for the past academic year. This book adapts the topic-oriented approach, and it consists of 15 chapters. It is designed to target a TOEIC score of 500 or above. Each unit not only covers the seven sections of the TOEIC texts but also provides sections of vocabulary, word pairs, listening skill tips and examples, frequently tested grammar points, and two other vocabulary sections: one section adapting a morphological approach to expand vocabulary, and the other explaining how some vocabulary words are used in context. A student CD comes with the book, and a teacher can also get a teacher's manual, which includes answers to the practice questions, scripts for the listening exercises, Japanese translation of the English texts, and pre- and post-tests and their answers.

As explained in the book's preface, the authors have selected the topics that often appear on TOEIC, such as environmental issues and technology. The topics are presented in the following sequence from Units 1 to 15: Arts & Amusement; Lunch & Parties; Medicine & Health; Traffic & Travel; Ordering & Shipping; Factories & Production; Research & Development; Computers & Technology; Employment & Promotion; Advertisement & Personnel; Telephone & Messages; Banking & Finance; Office Work & Equipment; Housing & Properties; Business & Management.

The grammar points covered in the book are: nouns & pronouns; adjective & articles; adverbs; comparatives; verbs and verb tense; future expressions; subject/verb agreement and tense agreement; active/passive; gerunds/infinitives; participles; modals; conjunctions; relative pronouns and relative adverbs; prepositions; and conditionals. In terms of features necessary to review for TOEIC, these are adequate and well sequenced.

Unfortunately, grammar explanations in the book are slightly too simplified, and supplementary explanations and exercises are necessary to reinforce grammar teaching/learning. Additionally, there are some problems with practice questions included in some of the chapters. For example, Unit 5 covers verbs and verb tense, but the practice questions in this chapter include a few questions that require the knowledge of active/passive voices. In Unit 5, the book first introduces the notion of transitive and intransitive verbs. All it explains here, however, is: "verbs that take an object are called transitive verbs, and verbs that do not take an object are called intransitive verbs." The examples given under this explanation are as follows (p.42):

Example 1: We should **discuss** this issue. = We should **talk about** this issue.

Example 2: He **opposed** our plan. = He **objected to** our plan.

Neither the explanations nor the examples give details about active/passive voices. However, the Part V practice questions in this unit include questions like the following (p. 42):

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Question 1: Currently we....outside side the United States.
(A) did not ship, (B) are not shipped, (C) do not ship, (D) have not shipped

Question 2: A courier ....just now.
(A) has sent; (B) will sent; (C) is sent; (D) was sent
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In order for students to answer these questions, they must understand not only verb tense and aspect but also active/passive voices, yet this textbook does not introduce active/passive voices until Unit 8. Some learners who may not have reviewed active/passive voices are likely to get confused with questions like these, and that was exactly the case with many of the students I taught last year. The target grammar point becomes harder to understand and to acquire because a new grammar point that has not been reviewed is incorporated in these questions.

The above questions, in my opinion, can easily be rewritten in such a way that the choices between active/passive voices are eliminated from the answers so that this would not be an issue for students:

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Revised Question 1: Currently we....outside side the United States.

(A) did not ship, (B) were not shipping, (C) do not ship, (D) have not shipped

Revised Question 2: A courier ....just now.

(A) has been sent; (B) will be sent; (C) is sent; (D) was sent
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Students need to be able to concentrate on the target grammar features that are taught in each unit instead of working on multiple grammar features that have not been reviewed. Questions like 1 and 2, which are the original question used in the textbook, should be used after both verb tense/aspect and active/passive voices are introduced. Even though test-takers must be able to solve problems that deal with multiple grammar features on an actual test, in the process of learning and reviewing, focusing on target grammar points is extremely important, especially for lower-level learners.

Finally, I personally find the "Expand Your Vocabulary" section one of the strengths of this book. This section employs some morphological approaches for vocabulary building. It explains and gives examples of suffixes and parts of speech, prefixes, homonyms, synonyms, antonyms, acronyms, etymology, idioms as well as loanwords which are often used incorrectly by Japanese learners. I always try to incorporate these lexical sets in my vocabulary teaching; however, it is very useful to have a section like this in each unit. This allows the teacher to systematically integrate a morphological approach in vocabulary teaching, and it also allows students to use these sections for reinforcing their vocabulary building.

Some teachers and publishers think it is best to use previous exam questions to teach TOEIC preparatory courses. This is probably true with more advanced learners who have both the basic knowledge of English grammar and have attained some level of listening/reading skills. Generally speaking, these students have taken TOEIC a few times, and they are usually attempting to increase their scores. Therefore, they need to work on more practice questions, and thus this approach will definitely serve them well. However, with lower-level learners, many of who often require an extensive amount of vocabulary and grammar review, a topic-oriented approach seems to work much better, and *Essential Approach to the TOEIC TEST* fulfills this function. As long as a teacher adequately supplements explanations on the grammar points and modifies some of the grammar/reading questions/answers appropriately, I recommend

this textbook for beginning and low-intermediate level TOEIC classes.

Yuri Kusuyama

## Naomi S. Baron, Always On: Language in an Online and Mobile World. Oxford: University Press, 2008. 289 pp. ISBN 978019531305-5. \$18.95

As the title suggests, the focus of the book is on a "phenomenon in flux", the development and change in language under the influence of new, electronic, technologies of communication. Among many publications on electronic media and linguistic changes occurring under the influence of the cutting-edge technologies, *Always On* stands out as comprehensive, insightful and, at the same time, engaging and comprehensible book.

Dealing with such volatile material as the language of electronically mediated communication (EMC), Baron does not attempt to embalm or judge it, but rather seeks to understand the synergy between technology and language in the wide context of literacy and culture. Her approach to the matter is guided by the same pair of broad questions which any serious student of electronic communication eventually faces: what is the effect of new communication technologies on our language and how, in turn, do our linguistic practices impact the way we think and act? Baron deals with these issues in the large cultural context of literacy, more specifically the print culture, and looks through the multiple lenses of historical surveys and current research on linguistic and social lives of her contemporaries, users of modern technologies of communication.

The book begins with an overview of how new technologies of communication have been and are being "domesticated", that is, quickly becoming normal components of daily living, and of the obvious effects of modernization on our life. Most of the social consequences outlined in Chapter 1 are dealt with in detail further on in this essay, but the opening sketch succeeds in both building an impressive picture of ongoing transformation of modern communication and setting up the main directions of discussion and reflection. This introduction is reinforced by a chronological survey and classification of the types of communication media, which have emerged over the past thirty-five years. The classification is based on two dimensions: synchronicity (synchronous vs. asynchronous) and audience scope (one-to-one vs. one-to-many).

The first two chapters, which comprise the introductory part of the book, also provide interesting statistics on different computer-based and mobile-phone communication platforms. However, as Baron rightly acknowledges, getting up-to-date statistics is as treacherous a task as "lashing the wind" and should be treated as a pattern rather than truth. As such, some evident patterns are quite remarkable. First, one would be surprised to know that even with unprecedented expansion of mobile communication, email still remains the predominant language application. Also, contrary to the popular belief that the global Internet village speaks English, statistics indicate that the English-speaking province is drastically shrinking and has plummeted to 30% of the Internet users in 2006 compared to 89% ten years before.

Having outlined the broad context of her exploration, Baron makes a defining statement that will guide further discussion: the new forms of language that have emerged in different formats of electronic communication are having profound impact upon both the linguistic and social dimensions of human interaction. Chapter 3 is crucial for the book as it develops the major theme of the book – new language technologies provide new ways of discourse management. The author calls this management "volume control" and shows how with different technologies people select frequency and amount of communication they have, exercise cognitive multitasking, and eventually reach the point when everyone becomes "a language czar".

In the next four chapters, each of which focuses on a particular genre of online or mobile phone communication, the author examines the characteristics of the language employed and the social implications of the medium. Thus, Chapter 4 addresses Instant Messaging (IM) and poses an important question whether IM is a written version of casual speech, which consequently sends writing conventions "to

the dogs", or whether it embodies relevant traits of formal written language, in which case we don't need to panic about the degeneration of writing. Drawing from her own research Baron concludes that even being very informal and sharing a lot of speech characteristics, IM still adheres to the norms of conventional writing. In the next chapter, the lens widens from one-to one to one-to-many communication, and the author invites us to look at IM and Facebook as "platforms for orchestrating personal relationships". Two studies conducted by Baron on these modes of communication produce some interesting gender- and age-relevant findings on how people employ technology "to see and be seen".

The way communication technology allows people to realize another communicative need — "to have their say" — is reviewed in Chapter 6 where Baron follows the dynamic of this human necessity from the gallows of medieval London to Speakers' Corner, to letters to the editor, to talk-radio shows. When she finally reaches blogs as the latest bastion of free speech, the author points out that, unlike the preceding "speakers' corners", blogging technology allows guests, and not hosts, to be in control of communication. An important implication is that besides freedom of speech, blogs and their multimedia enhanced counterparts, such as YouTube (also Google Video and other video-sharing platforms), offer opportunities for self-expression and companionship, previously reserved for face-toface interaction. As for the freedom of speech and participation — all three platforms (blogs, YouTube and People's encyclopedia Wikipedia) bring the former up to the level unheard of even a decade ago.

The last article on communication technologies switches attention from computer-based modes to mobile phones and provides a detailed snapshot of this way of communication. While the chronological overview may be available elsewhere, the reader of *Always On* will be interested to learn about the keitai culture of Japan or Baron's perception of the American mobile phone style, which is shaped, in her opinion, by Americans being a nation of Talkers and Typists. Different reasons for and attitudes towards using mobile phones can be sought, according to Baron, in Americans having more access to computers and thus favoring IM rather than texting, contrary to the mobile phone users in other countries.

After surveying all modes and technologies of electronic communication and social, behavioral and linguistic implications of their use, Baron finally turns to the crucial question of her research: should computer-mediated communication be held responsible for if not declining, then changing English language standards (especially regarding writing)? The author's answer is negative since her data suggest that electronic language is at most a very minor dialectal variation whereas the processes affecting the linguistic landscape are much more complicated. She suggests approaching the issue in three stages.

In the first stage, she analyses the current status of offline writing and finds that in teaching, publishing and general use of written language there is a growing trend towards informality. Tolerance towards breaking rules in writing (according to Baron) reflects similar laissez-faire tendencies in other aspects of American life, which makes the author label her contemporaries the "Whatever" Generation. Baron keeps to her promise not to pass any judgment on any linguistic variant, but the "whatever" tendency makes her predict that in the new millennium writing will increasingly become an instrument for recording informal speech and that "clock-driven" language users will find it increasingly difficult to understand one another's nuances.

The second stage addresses the normative question of rules and authorities on the Internet. Here the author states that the rise of new technologies always leads to new rules and that the rules for the Internet are still evolving. Moreover, the existing attempts to codify the rules on the side of different authorities and scholars are often subjective and controversial. In practice, however, even without a definite set of rules, most users strive to achieve comprehensibility and are aware of the fine line it sets between creativity and normative language use.

Finally, in the third stage of her investigation, Baron widens her lens to the ways the Internet may actually be shaping our culture in general. This macro-perspective challenges the issues of authorship and

copyright, property and propriety, supply and demand, and other relevant problems. The major effect of online and mobile technologies, however, is seen in a steady increase in the amount of writing we do. But does this mean an increase in quality as well? Again, the answer is negative. Baron points to a number of factors why the quality of literacy is decreasing while written culture as a whole is undergoing profound transformation. "Life on the clock" promotes speed writing and speed reading. The "Print Paradox", which comprises the opposite relationship between the numbers of books published for and books actually read by children, is created not only by the amount of time they spend watching TV or playing computer games, but also by the lack of role models among their parents, who do not read either. Baron stops short of supporting bleak prophecies offered by other scholars but she contends that in future we will have "print culture sans print", where printed books might become collectors' items.

So what are the real costs of being always on? This question is addressed in the final chapter of the book by looking at the impacts of contemporary media on our social fabric. Baron notices shifts in modern perceptions of honesty and integrity when dealing with information available through media, the negative effects of multitasking, growing virtuality of social interaction, lost sense of space (not knowing where your interlocutor can be), and others. Her conclusion is that contemporary language technologies are poised to redefine our longstanding notions of how to communicate with each other; however it depends very much on us to learn to use them responsibly, with complete awareness of the appropriateness and social consequences of each specific act of communication in an online and mobile world.

The book is based on the author's original research as well as on the breadth of other linguistic studies and data pertaining to the area of electronic communication and its language. The encyclopedism of the book is its main strength and attraction, and while Baron's research findings are not a breakthrough in the field, the broad chronological perspective, in which she approaches each issue, is very insightful. The historical vignettes, which accompany each kind of modern media discussed, as well as witty analysis of the current implications of its use, are most interesting and make reading the book an informative, thought-provoking and at the same time enjoyable experience. *Always On* addresses a variety of readers, from teachers and parents, to linguists and students of new media, and while writing for such a diverse audience is a tremendous challenge, the overall impression of the book shows that this challenge is well met.

Irina Averianova

Jim Collins (2009) How the Mighty Fall: And Why Some Companies Never Give In. New York: HarperCollins. 222p. ISBN 978-0-9773264-1-9.

Jim Collins is an American researcher and author of the enduring business bestsellers, *Built to Last* (1995, with Jerry Porras) and *Good to Great* (2001). One contributing factor to the success of these previous two titles, especially *Good to Great*, is the way the concepts are broadly applicable to all sorts of enterprises across many industries including non-profit organizations, universities, and churches. The same promise holds for his latest publication, *How the Mighty Fall: And Why Some Companies Never Give In (HTMF).* 

Collins established his research career in the 1990s at the Stanford Graduate School of Business. His early successes there led to his assembling a management laboratory with over 20 research associates in Colorado, where he continues his work today. Indeed, another compelling feature of Collins' work is the volume of data this comparatively large business research team amasses. Collins' projects are long-term studies based on a comparison method using extensive longitudinal data to study the contrasts of success and failure between narrowly defined sets of companies.

This current volume started as a side project to the laboratory's six-year research on the related topic of how companies prevail and endure in the most adverse environments. While drawing from this on-going research supplemented with data from his previous publications, *HTMF* takes a different angle. The text follows his method of contrasting companies that succeed or fail in order to determine what attributes, if any, can be learned not from the success but from the collapse, against all expectations, of previously strong, firmly established enterprises. Surprisingly, the book was begun prior to the sudden volatility of global financial markets in late 2008, but the publishing date required Collins to address that *HTMF* is not specifically a response to that period. Rather he aspires in *HTMF* to determine in general what positive lessons can be learned and what patterns of mistakes can be delineated from observing the actions of very-specific-criteria-meeting types of organizations which have fallen hard when doing so would have seemed to be the least likely outcome. For those criteria, Collins compares and contrasts highly successful and less successful organizations that in the same-year time frame, in similar industries, with similar circumstances, ultimately arrive at contrasting outcomes. The success-contrast selection criteria is determined from SIC (Standard Industrial Classification) codes, financial analyst reports, Hoover's and Moody's reports, Fortune rankings and published articles, and is described in detail in *HTMF's* Appendix 2.

The book is organized into eight chapters. To overview them briefly: the first, titled "The Silent Creep of Impending Doom," gives an anecdote for the origin of the foundational questions of the book, a key one being "[h]ow would you know?" In short, if the outward appearances of an enterprise indicate continued strength, how would you know if in fact decline is imminent? In this chapter he sets the scope of the study and places it in the context of his previous work. Chapter two presents the research method, lays out the groundwork for the book's key claims, and introduces Collins' concept for five discreet stages of decline: "Hubris Born of Success"; "Undisciplined Pursuit of More"; "Denial of Risk and Peril"; "Grasping for Salvation"; "Capitulation to Irrelevance or Death." The following five chapters each present one stage in extended detail. Each stage is given a full chapter with case examples of contrast-success companies to illustrate Collins' analysis. Key companies discussed include Wal-Mart, Ames Department Stores, Zenith, Circuit City, Best Buy, Rubbermaid, Merck, Motorola, and Hewlett Packard. The progression through the five stages describes ever-worsening scenarios for an enterprise, as indicated by the bombastic tone of his terms. Finally, the last chapter is the conclusion self-consciously wrapped in as much hope and optimism as he can muster to lighten the mood of the previous chapters' message of doom. Collins scrambles back from his ever-grimmer reports to salvage a message of hope, offering up an optimistic outlook in spite of the prevalence of dire, undermining forces the book has heretofore trumpeted.

In the book's final commentary Collins spends more than three pages on Winston Churchill's political struggles, fall from grace, and ultimate redemption as the exemplar for saving something (in this case, Churchill's career and reputation) when it appears conclusively doomed. Collins quotes Churchill's famous words before himself intoning the message of hope for the path out of darkness: "[n]ever give up on the principles that define your culture. Be willing to form alliances with former adversaries, to accept necessary compromise, but never—ever—give up on your core values" (p. 123). Subjective notions such as optimism and pessimism are difficult to defend; nevertheless, I venture that even the most optimistic among us would acknowledge that Collins makes hard work of generating a supposedly uplifting message from a man considered by many as one of the great heroes of the last century. Though I would have thought myself a committed optimist, for all the inspiration of Churchill's life story, the conclusion reads like a banal reworking of a clichéd motivational standard: "never give in." Of course, broadly speaking this is true, but like much motivational speech if you say it in the wrong context it is empty. With Collins it feels like the latter. On the other hand, the conclusion probably will go over well with the Collins' faithful. Like Ronald Reagan quotes at a Republican convention or Bush jokes at a Democratic Party fundraiser, Churchill has become common currency in the popular political media in the US since 9/11. Yet the idea that the mood might be changing on Churchill references was perhaps forewarned with President Obama's return of the bust of Churchill—previously on display in the Whitehouse—which had been loaned to the US during the Bush administration (Shipman, 2009).

Overall, the book is very much addressed to his audience in the US where Collins is a highly respected figure, as attested by his being invited to lead a seminar with a group of US business, government and military leaders assembled at an American military center of power, West Point. Collins opens *HTMF* with an anecdote from this prestigious seminar that he tells us was the seed for investigating the ideas in the book. Collins recounts that as a training tool he proposed to the group a rhetorical question, "[w]hat if America's greatness were at risk?" His topic for the group of leaders to address was "is America renewing its greatness, or is America dangerously on the cusp of falling from great to good?" Collins continues:

While I intended the question to be simply rhetorical (I believe that America carries a responsibility to continuously renew itself, and it has met that responsibility throughout its history), the West Point gathering nonetheless erupted into an intense debate (p. 2).

There are some very telling points here worth considering. Ostensibly Collins asked the rhetorical question about the state of the US as an opening gambit to the issue raised by one corporate leader worrying about his own successful company. Collins claims that this topic then became the foundation for the HTMF project: how would you know? This question is asked in regard to an enterprise heading for a fall while for all appearances looking like a champion. To illustrate further, Collins gives a very personal angle to the question using a health metaphor. If you were the picture of health, as was Collins' wife before being diagnosed with cancer, how would you know that in fact you were ill? Subsequently, after snapping our attention away from the US itself with this heartrending personal health tragedy, Collins quickly guides us back to thinking in terms of corporations. Yet Collins has planted the idea in the reader's head of a link between the fall of mighty corporations and that of the US itself. However, if this is at least one of the questions—if not the question—we should consider in applying the lessons of HTMF to other real world situations, Collins leaves that business to others: reference to the US as a whole is never raised again in HTMF. In fact, Collins went out of his way to highlight that he had posed this question merely rhetorically, as if the greatness of the US were an otherwise unassailable fact. His belief in the continually renewing greatness of America, the remarkable parenthetical caveat, is curiously worded like a religious litmus test. Having started his book with this association, he fully abandons any discussion of the matter after carefully distancing himself from it as even being a serious consideration. It is as if Collins does not directly dare to ask the question lest he be accused of being anti-American, or worse still in some quarters, un-American.

Admittedly Collins is a business writer, but his timidity toward addressing head on how the ideas of *HTMF* may or may not apply directly to the US or the US economy diminishes the force of his argument. It does not take much imagination even for the passing observer to consider Collins' stages of decline in the context of the recent crises and conflicts that have so troubled the United States. Undeterred, Collins begins his book feigning disinterest in this question, when to the contrary it could easily be argued this is a glaringly important question facing the United States.

In any event, in terms of American corporations, it is evident that in the flux of highly unpredictable world market forces individual companies may be at much greater exposure and risk than previously acknowledged. In his April 2010 testimony to congress, none other than the former chairman of the Federal Reserve, Alan Greenspan, testified to congress that his model of the markets was flawed and admitted that he had been wrong (Warner, 2010). The powerful Robert Rubin, US Secretary of the Treasury in Clinton's first and second terms, and 26-year Goldman Sachs veteran, told a New York audience in March 2010 that almost no one foresaw the coming crisis (Kiser, 2010). But as Henry Blodget (2010) points out, the "Hoocodanode" (who could have known?) defense is incredulous because

[t]he particulars of the crisis—the when, what, and how—might have been impossible to foresee. But the idea that, someday, there might be a day of reckoning, and that this day of reckoning might catch people by surprise, is as basic as economic and market forecasting gets.

Despite such well-respected figures expressing surprise at the unexpected collapse, other prominent economists and business commentators were sounding warning bells and continue to predict difficult financial times ahead. Nouriel Roubini, esteemed American economist and professor of economics at NYU's Stern School of Business, so called Dr. Doom for correctly predicting the recent economic crises, predicts further troubles rather than recovery in a double-dip recession for late-2010 to early 2011 (Roubini, 2010). Peter Schiff, financial commentator and business author who also correctly predicted the market collapse and was widely ridiculed for doing so during 2006-7, continues to argue that it is only a matter of time before the dollar will collapse (Schiff, 2010). He insists the dollar is about to plummet as a result of US credit troubles along the lines of those that have undermined Greece and Ireland. Niall Ferguson, Professor of History at Harvard University and regular TV pundit on the topic of American business and politics, contextualizes the US' current position from the broader perspective of the rise and fall of nations. He argues in his recent article, Complexity and Collapse: Empires on the Edge of Chaos, that while empires that collapse, in hindsight, appear to have experienced a long decline, in fact the fall happens quite swiftly, over only a decade or two from the heights to destitution (Ferguson, 2010). These are of course not the only voices in this dialogue, but if these three prominent naysayers happen to have it right again, then it could well be that the US economy is headed for much worse times. If such high-stakes uncertainty persists, then a company's viability may very well end up falling as much to luck as to any great foresight and planning of its leadership team. Who will be the business winners amidst the fall of a mighty empire?

Returning to the business focus of *HTMF*, the fall of large, dominant companies is a popular current topic in business literature, to which *HTMF* makes an important contribution. Naturally the five stages are the main focus of the book, but five other key ideas are also worth mentioning. The reader will note, just as in the above discussion, the indirect sub-text of considering the concepts with regards to the governance and economy of the United States itself. Collins identifies five types of hubris: undisciplined leaps into areas where the company cannot be the best; pursuit of growth beyond what it can deliver with excellence; bold, risky decisions that fly in the face of conflicting or negative evidence; denying even the

possibility the enterprise could be at risk; arrogant neglect. He describes how these bold steps are taken at the expense of the organization's core business (what Collins' calls the company's "flywheel"), which is neglected or undervalued. Collins also argues that not having the right people in the company's most important management positions is the clearest indicator that problems lie ahead. Furthermore, companies that experience steep drops in performance are more likely to have a lot of power consolidated in a lone strong leader rather than broadly spread across a well-assembled team with a modest, self-deprecating leader. For readers interested in this point, Jamie Oliver and Tony Goodwin's forthcoming book, *How They Blew It: The CEOs and Entrepreneurs Behind Some of the World's Most Catastrophic Business Failures*, specifically addresses this issue. Finally, Collins emphasizes the truism that change in and of itself does not necessarily make for good management or enhance the business. Moreover, implementing an abundance of new programs that are inconsistent, or that emerge solely from internal politics rather than genuine external business needs, he asserts, is "the signature of mediocrity" which promises future calamity.

Considering the context that was the catalyst for *HTMF*, a national assembly of top American business, military and government leaders, it is natural for the reader to think of these five points again not just in terms of grand enterprises but also with regard to that grandest of enterprises, the United States. Given the delicacy with which Collins' felt he had to tread when suggesting strategic reasons for individual business failures, it would not be surprising if his future work continues the approach in *HTMF* of only alluding to broader complexities while leaving the exploration of such implications for other writers. As worthwhile a contribution as it is to business literature, the most compelling parts of *HTMF* are the imperial questions it leaves unasked and the dangerous cusps it dare not discuss.

Grant Black

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